NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
10 cents
Vol. 5, No. 38 NEW YORK, N. Y., JULY 13, 1953
New York Edition

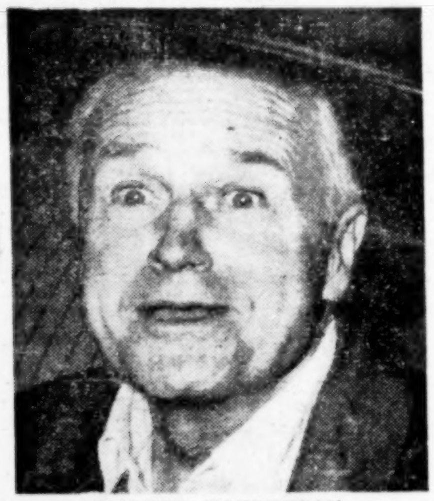
WAR & PEACE

Nehru sees bigger war danger; U.S. 'hardens'

By Tabitha Petran

WHILE the people everywhere cried out for peace, and U.S. agencies intensified provocations and propaganda against the socialist world, Moscow's **Pravda** (7/6) charged that Washington hopes to block big-power settlement by fomenting E. European "uprisings" and "riots." Its editorial, said the N. Y. **Times** (7/7), recalled the "famous editorials" following Eisenhower's April 16 speech and Churchill's May 11 call for four-power talks; its

> . . . chief policy line was . . . that regardless of the Berlin outbreaks and Korean troubles, the Soviet Union will hew firmly to the detente [easing of tensions] policy. [But] . . . it expects that there may perhaps be "new adventures and provocations" similar to Berlin and the Syngman Rhee affair in Korea, [which] were thought by "silly champions of power politics" to be a very effective means of continuing international tension at a high pitch and thus making the attainment of aggressive goals more easy. "Every person with common sense understands [they] are doomed to failure."



WALTER ROBERTSON
Endlessly, amiably . . .

"WON'T CONSIDER TALKS": U.S. reports bore out **Pravda's** analysis. The Big Three foreign ministers, meeting in Washington July 10, will seek ways "to exploit the riots and unrest . . . behind the Russian Iron Curtain," U.S. officials told **UP** (7/4). **Business Week** (7/4) said "Washington's opposition to Big Four talks has hardened appreciably since the E. German revolt"; Churchill's "diplomatic illness" was brought on by the President's telling him flatly

> . . . we wouldn't even consider Big Four talks at the present time [and] the U. S. would take care of Rhee by itself.

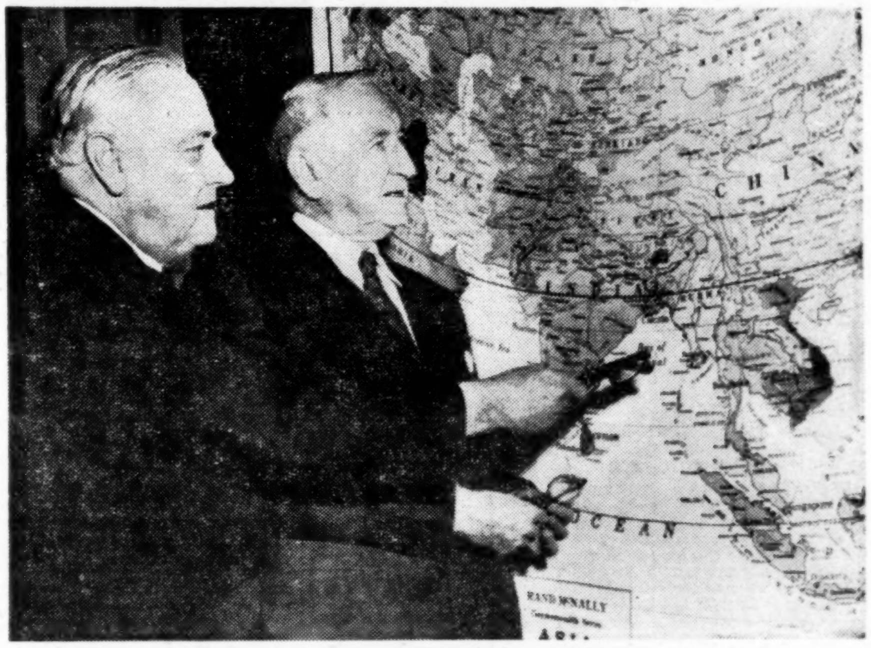
In Korea, Presidential envoy Walter Robertson conferred endlessly and amiably with Rhee, who on July 4 called on the American people to continue the war and insisted on its resumption if Korea is not united on his terms.

EXTENDED WAR? From India Premier Nehru warned that Rhee's attitude "means not only a continuation of the Korean war, but a possible extension of it elsewhere." His two calls for a special UN Assembly session to deal with Rhee's recalcitrance won backing from Burma and a promise of support from Britain if Robertson's talks are not fruitful.

Washington's hostile attitude underscored the warning. Conceivably Nehru may know of earlier U. S. plans to extend the war in Asia. These were hinted at in a **NYT** dispatch from Hong Kong (7/5) that China's concessions of the prisoner-exchange issue had "nullified any plans that may have been in the offing for attacking the Southeast coast of China." When truce talks were first resumed this spring, some Washington reports said the U. S. would use them to gain time to prepare a bigger war. Adm. Arthur Radford, new chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, is an open advocate of such a war.

KNOWLAND'S DRUM: Whatever Washington's plans, the powerful China

(Continued on Page 3)



Lost any good spearheads today?

Senate Foreign Relations Comm. chairman Alexander Wiley, seen here showing Sen. Walter F. George a map of Asia, calls the Indo-Chinese state of Laos "a spearhead of the free world" which "we cannot afford to lose." The determination of elderly Washingtonians not to "lose" the rest of Asia—as they "lost" China—to the Asians is responsible for the truce-sabotage attempts in Korea and the continued danger of extended war. The Asians persist in declining the invitation to fight each other for the benefit of foreign profiteers.

Streets, parks named after Rosenbergs

As it did in the campaign to save their lives, France is taking the lead in keeping the names of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg bright for future generations. First cities to take action were Seyne-sur-mer and Bagneux (Normandy), which named a street and a park respectively after the martyrs. In D'Avion, Pas-de-Calais, the Municipal Council consisting of Socialist, Communist and MRP (Catholic) members unanimously voted to name a street for Julius and Ethel.

The campaign in France to vindicate the Rosenbergs is reported "growing by leaps and bounds."

The last letters of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg

June 18, 1953

Dear Manny:

I have drawn up a last will and testament so that there can be no question about the fact that I want you to handle all our affairs and be responsible for the children, as in fact you have been doing. Ethel completely concurs in this request and is in her hand attesting to it.

Our children are the apple of our eye, our pride and most precious fortune. Love them with all your heart and always protect them in order that they grow up to be normal, healthy people. That you will do this I am sure but as their proud father I take the prerogative to ask it of you, my dearest friend, and devoted brother. I love my sons most profoundly.

I am not much at saying goodbye because I believe that good accomplishments live on forever but this I can say—my love of life has never been so strong because I've seen how beautiful the future can be. Since I feel that we in some small measure have contributed our share in this direction, I think my sons and millions of others will have benefited by it.

Words fail me when I attempt to tell of the nobility and grandeur of my life's companion, my sweet and devoted wife. Ours is a great love and a wonderful relationship—it has made my life full and rich.

My aged and ailing mother has been a source of great comfort and we always shared a mutual love and devotion. Indeed she has been selfless in her efforts on our behalf. My sisters and my brother have supported us from the start and were behind us 100% and worked on our behalf. We can truthfully say that my family gave us sustenance in the time of our great trials.

You Manny are not only considered as one of my family but are our extra special friend. The bond of brotherhood and love between us was forged in the struggle for life and all that it means and it is a source of great strength to us. Be strong for us, beloved friend, and we wish you long life to continue your fruitful work in health and happiness for without doubt you are a fine man, dear friend and sincere advocate of the people. I salute you and caress you affectionately with all my heart.

Never let them change the truth of our innocence. For peace, bread and roses, in simple dignity we face the executioner with courage, confidence and perspective, never losing faith.

As ever Julie

P. S.—All my personal effects are in 3 cartons and you can get them from the Warden.

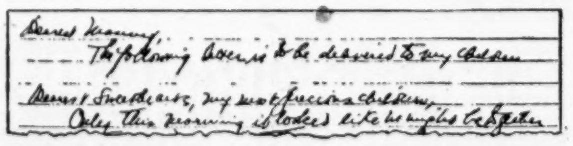
All my love—Julie

June 19th—Ethel wants it made known that we are the first victims of American Fascism.

Ethel & Julie
June 19, 1953

The last letter from Ethel, signed also by Julius:

June 19, 1953



Dearest Manny,
The following letter is to be delivered to my children
Dearest Sweethearts, my most precious children,
Only this morning it looked like we might be together

Dearest Manny:

The following letter is to be delivered to my children.

Dearest Sweethearts, my most precious children:

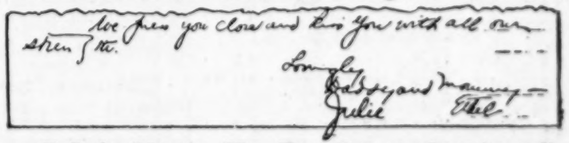
Only this morning it looked like we might be together again after all. Now that this cannot be, I want so much for you to know all that I have come to know. Unfortunately, I may write only a few simple words; the rest your own lives must teach you, even as mine taught me.

At first, of course, you will grieve bitterly for us, but you will not grieve alone. That is our consolation and it must eventually be yours.

Eventually, too, you must come to believe that life is worth the living. Be comforted that even now, with the end of ours slowly approaching, that we know this with a conviction that defeats the executioner!

Your lives must teach you, too, that good cannot really flourish in the midst of evil; that freedom and all the things that go to make up a truly satisfying and worthwhile life, must sometimes be purchased very dearly. Be comforted, then, that we were serene and understood with the deepest kind of understanding, that civilization had not as yet progressed to the point where life did not have to be lost for the sake of life; and that we were comforted in the sure knowledge that others would carry on after us.

We wish we might have had the tremendous joy and gratification of living our lives out with you. Your Daddy who is with me in the last momentous hours, sends his heart and all the love that is in it for his dearest boys. Always remember that we were innocent and could not wrong our conscience.



We press you close and kiss you with all our strength.
Lovingly,
Daddy and Mommy—
Julie Ethel

P.S. to Manny—The Ten Commandments, religious medal and chain—and my wedding ring—I wish you to present to our children as a token of our undying love.

Let's tell the world!

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray Street, New York 7, N. Y.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y. Telephone: WOrth 4-3960.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U. S. & possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $3 a year. All other countries $4 a year. First class and air mail rates on request. Single copies 10c. Reentered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Vol. 5, No. 38 178 JULY 13, 1953

"What ever fosters militarism makes for barbarism; whatever fosters peace makes for civilization."—HERBERT SPENCER.

REPORT TO READERS

Men and women of distinction

DURING the last two years, readers of the GUARDIAN have been initiators and mobilizers of the greatest campaign for justice in history, the fight for the lives of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

This is a distinction which the world will acknowledge with honor.

What may never be noted, however, is the fact that in the course of this magnificent effort the GUARDIAN readers by and large have not lost sight of the need to keep this paper in publication and reaching new hands.

This is not to say that the GUARDIAN has been secured beyond danger of financial distress—which is very far from the case; but rather to acknowledge one of the most encouraging signs in the American progressive movement today.

AS WE ENTER the second half of 1953, we can report that nearly 3,000 readers have now assumed the obligation of contributing at least $1 a month toward the GUARDIAN sustaining fund for the rest of the year.

Many who are making these contributions do so out of very hard-earned money. Some do it by saving pennies, nickels and dimes out of each day's spendings. (One man brought into our office last week a pint-size Nescafe jar containing $6.94 in pennies for our fund.) Pledges are paid most faithfully, and promptly!

We report this also by way of acknowledgement to those contributing the extra bits needed to keep the paper going—and to let the rest know whom they owe for their GUARDIAN each week.

IF YOU CAN AFFORD to join this sustaining group, we most seriously want you and need you for a secure and improving paper. Every subscriber last month received a letter from the editor, inviting participation. While the replies have been deeply rewarding, the total number coming in hasn't approached the point of embarrassing us or curing our banker's insomnia.

May we hear from you before this month is out?

—THE EDITORS.

THE MAIL BAG
USM

Please return

COVINA, CALIF.

The Statue of Liberty was presented to the U. S. by France. It is my suggestion to the people of France that millions upon millions of them sign a letter to our government asking for return of their gift. Our nation is unworthy of it.

William Norton

They like Petran

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Appreciation for what you are doing to preserve our liberties—and especially for Tabitha Petran, the first byline I look for and most astute political writer in the land today. She sometimes errs on the side of pessimism, but by and large her writings represent a series of bull's-eyes. I for one would like to know what crystal ball she possesses and where one can be purchased on either coast. **Wm. Sage**

●

CANTON, OHIO

It's only a few weeks since the GUARDIAN has been coming to me, but already I'll say it's the best paper I've read in 22 years of serious reading. Everything in the paper is good, but Tabitha Petran's "War & Peace" article June 15 in particular rings the bell. I hope all readers appreciate the real service she does in quoting from many excellent sources to reinforce the facts; it would be impractical and prohibitive to buy all the sources quoted from.

Elmer Fish

Too emotional

CHICAGO, ILL.

The editors of the GUARDIAN live in an ivory tower. You cannot convince people that our cause is worthwhile when all that a reader sees is emotional sensationalism. All the GUARDIAN is, is a later and poorer edition of the **Daily Worker.** It would be a farce if the paper turned Red, White and Blue like the fascist-minded Hearst and McCormick papers, but it might become a little more America-minded and a little less Soviet-minded and do some good.

H. V. Smith

Pray—for whom?

FALFA, COLO.

I am a farmer and sold two steers for $.105 per lb. a few days ago. How much do you pay a lb.? Are our leaders so dumb as to think if McCarthy finds and jails all except tigers and clowns they will be able to claim ownership to heaven as well as hell? It will take nine steers to pay state and county taxes; as to income tax, that is a far-away jinx. The big moron from Salt Lake, Secy. of Agriculture, advises all farmers to pray. I am so dumb I don't know if he means for us to pray for him or ourselves. **R. S. Ban**

More courage

CONWAY, N. H.

We at "World Fellowship" were overjoyed to receive the announcement of Belfrage's release from Ellis Island. You give us more courage to live up to our own convictions and to defend our traditional liberties against those who would destroy them.

Willard Uphaus, Eugenia & Chas. Weller (and others)

How crazy can you get dept.

There is disquieting evidence that the Russians, having turned aside for the moment from fomenting of wars, are concentrating their attack on a more ominous phase of global warfare—to wit, raising their standard of living to a point that is roughly comparable to ours. . . . This sort of warfare is much more diabolical than a war in Korea. . . .

—Hal Burton column in Newsday, Nassau, N. Y.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. (Sender of above omitted name and date of clipping.)

Well, does it?

RIO LINDA, CALIF.

UP reports from Chicago June 25 that a Dr. Charles King, nutrition expert, says "people in the U. S. the best fed in the world, are suffering from malnutrition." How is that for crazy contradiction under an insane system of government? They say there is a vast surplus of everything; does it then make sense that the citizens should starve because they have worked too hard and produced too much?

Robert Scherlie

No sich monkey?

BALTIMORE, MD.

Pascal said: "We should be Christians because if we are wrong we have nothing to lose, if we are right we have everything to gain." So I am a Christian. But when the government tries to cover up the atrocious murder of the Rosenbergs by publishing reports of anti-communist riots in E. Germany, I apply the agnostic rule: "Believe nothing you cannot see, hear, touch, taste or smell." I know nothing about these riots; perhaps they never happened, like the monkey who never was. A government which drafts boys into the army has lost all claim to our confidence. **Lewis Bayard Robinson**

From Berlin

HACKENSACK, N. J.

A letter to me dated June 18 from E. Berlin reports: "I was not in town when the gangs—hordes—of criminals rushed in from W. Berlin, but my friends were here and saw with their own eyes how they came from Brandenburger Tor (at the E-W border) armed with clubs and hammers, and when they got to Friedrichstrasse they began hammering news-stands to pieces and burning them. They burned down a dept. store in Potsdamer Platz, turned cars and trucks over and set them on fire. I know these were not 'E. Berlin workers' as the W. Berlin radio reported, because I was in town the day before yesterday when the building workers went on strike and demonstrated up and down the streets of the main part of town. They did not do any hammering or burning; they shouted slogans. I listened to them and saw most of them were honest and had a justified grievance—and their grievance was redressed the same day. They were in rather good spirits and ready to call it a day." **J. C.**

The once free republic

MONROE, N. C.

I am sending $2. I have never endorsed communism, but neither do I endorse political persecution and the efforts by some to crush freedom of speech and press in this once free republic.

J. O. Holloway

No shirts, plenty Bridges

LOUDEN VILLAGE, N. H.

Then beat the drums and let the horns
Resound with loud tantivies
For though we've lost our shirt and pants
We've two more years of (Sen.) Bridges.

Charles H. Townsend

The younger set

PEORIA, ILL.

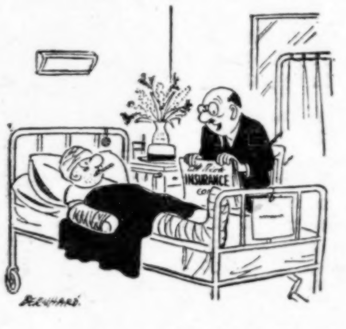
I would make a regular Buck-of-the Month pledge if I had a definite income, but seeing as I am only 12, my only income is my weekly allowance which I can't depend on regularly. I will send you whatever I can manage. My plan is to go to each member of the family and find out whether they have any Roosevelt dimes. You people are doing a wonderful job. **Emily Wirtz**

●

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Ever since my father, Paul Ziporkis, passed away, my mother and I have been thinking about what to do on Father's Day. We decided that since my father liked the GUARDIAN so much, and since we know it would be like a present to him too, we would send you this money.

Karen Ziporkis (I am 9)



Wall Street Journal

"Now, I'll bet you thought your comprehensive accident policy covered every type of accident, eh Mr. Pringle?"

A sometime thing

SALEM, ORE.

Maybe sometime Truth will have an inning; in the meantime,
Truth forever on the scaffold,
Wrong forever on the throne.

Herewith $5 for whatever you need most. **Sam J. Harms**

For the Rosenbergs

VANCOUVER, B. C.

The Eisenhower administration has carried out an act of state cannibalism in the execution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. As fitting expression for our grief and abiding wrath, we propose that you set up a Rosenberg Memorial Fund to sustain the NATIONAL GUARDIAN. We appeal to all who feel as we do to join with us in making the GUARDIAN our promise to the world that the Rosenberg name will forever be cherished, as a proud symbol and warning beacon to presidential switch-pullers.

Let Emanuel Bloch know that when he stormed the White House and cursed those animals who remained silent as the clock moved toward the hour, he did what we so fiercely wanted to do. He acted in humanity's name.

G. Sheehy-Culhane & family

●

HOT SPRINGS, ARK.

Amid tears pouring from all eyes of my family, I could not help these thoughts crowding out all else: America, our poor America—how awfully frightened you must be! How blind can you get? How can you hope to win where Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito lost? You have sowed hatred and your crop is hysteria. You are cracking a whip over us while we crush under the unbearable loads of taxation. You've created a non-productive element in the nation which the productive part can not long endure. America, wake up, America! **Arkansas Traveler**

●

POCATELLO, IDAHO

That the martyrdom of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg be not in vain, we suggest that the Natl. Comm. to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case be retained and reorganized as the Rosenberg Memorial Comm. to Re-Establish Justice in the U. S.

Hal & Margaret Driggs

●

DENVER, COLO.

I am not going to express regrets. During 53 years of union activity, friends of mine have been murdered—but we have always carried on the fight. The GUARDIAN is our best weapon and we must support it in every way we can. My wife and I are pensioners but we do save nickels and dimes until we can send along a dollar.

Sam Embree

●

BRUNO, MINN.

The Rosenbergs were finally given their freedom in the typical fascist manner; the only freedom the fascists have to offer is death. If we are to overcome evil, we must do it with the fearlessness of Christ. I enclose my meager $5 to further the cause of truth and justice as advocated by Christ and for which He was also put to death.

Orin D. Doty

●

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Your editorial saluting the memory of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, and those other stalwart defenders of real Americanism through their relation with the Rosenberg Case, omitted Judge Hugo Black. Let us not forget that in the two first appeals to the Supreme Court he stood alone in favor of a rehearing, and in one of his decisions said what is obvious to all decent persons; that no one into whose case the word "communism" is introduuced can possibly hope for a fair trial in our country's present hysteria. The clarity and steadfastness in the Supreme Court record of Judge Black merit deepest respect. **Berenice Noar**

●

HOUSTON, TEX.

The forces which murdered the Rosenbergs made a frantic mistake, because their spirits will come to life in the breasts of a growing force of fighting Americans.

Robert M. Peterson

●

LEAVITTSBURG, O.

In my 60 years on this earth, I believe this is the worst case of injustice I have heard of.

James Estey

●

LONDON, ENGLAND

The Rosenbergs did not die in vain; their merciless execution has shocked even the most apolitical people; during the last week many became disturbed when Justice Douglas' action dragged to the surface the doubts they had wished to put aside.

Were it not for the traditional respect for the law here, the U. S. Embassy would have had bricks through its windows. One friend of mine demonstrating outside it on Sunday had a run-in with two GI's who said: "We ought to drop an A-bomb on you British!" My friend replied: "This is my country — you get out!" — and kicked him on the shins. They yelled for police protection but the cop did nothing to "save" these would-be exterminators of the British public.

On one night when I was in the Square during the demonstrations, there was not an American to be seen—they had all run for their foxholes. Outside the Embassy were six mounted police and about 50 foot police. The next night there were 12 mounted and nearly 150 foot police.

The Rosenbergs stand as a symbol of those who would not dishonor themselves to save their lives. **Marie Seton**

WORLD Big 3 set for big hassle on billion-dollar Asian dilemmas

By Kumar Goshal

HIGH on the agenda of the "Little Bermuda" conference, opening in Washington July 10, is the Far East, where rivalries among the Western Big Three are sharpening.

Indo-China, which "is now causing a serious condition of paralyzed alarm in the inner circles" in Washington (Alsop brothers, 7/8), is the main topic French Foreign Minister Bidault will discuss with Secy. Dulles and the British representative, Lord Salisbury. Washington's concern was indicated by incoming NATO Commander Gen. Alfred Gruenther, who (C. L. Sulzberger, **NYT**, 7/2) considers "the problem of Indo-China our own problem."

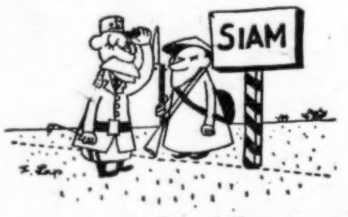
$1 BILLION DILEMMA: For both Washington and Paris the worsening situation in Indo-China presents a dilemma. Washington, currently supporting France's colonial war there to the tune of about $1 billion a year, is steadily getting in deeper. A recent report to the House Foreign Affairs Committee by the Mutual Defense Assistance Program stated:

> . . . U.S. military and technician instructors are being used to train French and native forces in the use of new equipment and in logistic and combat procedures (Robert S. Allen, 6/8).

Similar news was contained in a report to the New China News Agency (6/24), with the comment that the U.S. was using the pretext of "efficient use of aid" to attempt to seize control of the three puppet regimes and puppet armies of Indo-China.

WANING ENTHUSIASM: But Washington after the Korean experience finds direct intervention in Indo-China difficult; and France wants to pull out. The Alsops (7/8), pointing to the "grave loss of will in France to carry on the Indo-Chinese struggle," explained that the "powerful colonial groups" whose influence has hitherto "been used to block the men in the French Chamber who wish to abandon the Indo-Chinese struggle" are now faced with the fact that a victory can be won only "by the sacrifice of colonialism." Hence they are losing their enthusiasm for the war.

Behind this situation lie recent demands for greater independence from France's puppet governments in Indo-China's three associated states, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. The demands are spurred by the continued setbacks to French forces, despite U.S. support, and the growing success of the liberation forces.



Canard Enchaine, Paris

"Pardon me, have you seen a stray king around?"

WANDERING KING: The demands reached a climax when Cambodia's king Norodom Sihanouk called for complete independence for his country. He went for a week to neighboring Thailand, from where he implied in a new statement to the world that armed force might be necessary unless France voluntarily freed Cambodia.

As in Vietnam and Laos, a vigorous Cambodian liberation movement has operated since the end of World War II. In 1950, the Khmer (Cambodian) People's Representatives Congress set up a Liberation Provisional Committee with Son Ngoc Minh as its president. In March, 1951, an alliance of the Vietnam, Khmer and Lao peoples was concluded. Today, the Khmer Liberation Army controls a third of Cambodia. Norodom demanded independence after a tour of his country which convinced him of the movement's increasing strength (London **New Statesman,** 6/20).

HE WON'T "ADAPT": The French government sought to answer these demands by inviting puppet-government representatives to negotiate to "adapt" their relationship with France in light of present conditions—but without specifying how far France would go in loosening its hold. Foreign Minister Bidault reportedly said there must be no question of dominion status or of any right of secession from the French Union (**NYT,** 7/4).

The king of Laos, now in Paris, and the French-controlled Vietnam government accepted the invitation. But Norodom did not—and was thereupon visited by Lt. Gen. John O'Daniel, commander of U.S. land forces in the Pacific. According to the Alsops, the Indo-China war may "well reach an ugly climax when the summer rains cease."

BRIGANDS AND RUBBER TREES: Washington was running into trouble in other parts of Southeast Asia as well. Elaborate arrangements to evacuate the brigand army of 12,000 Chiang troops from Burma, where they are ravaging large border sections near Thailand, to Formosa were blocked by their commander Gen. Li Mi. He bluntly refused to accept the agreements reached by U.S., Chiang, Thai and Burmese representatives. Li Mi's deputy, Gen. Li Tse-fen, contended that his troops were preventing invasion of Southeast Asia by 150,000 Chinese Communist troops across the Burma border. Doubting Gen. Li's accuracy, Thailand police chief Col. Watanamhari recalled frequent Formosa predictions during the last three years of imminent Chinese Communist invasions of S-E Asia that have never materialized (**NYT,** 7/8).

Meanwhile a new low was reached in Washington's "anti-communist" trade war: the U.S. refused to sell a helicopter to Ceylon without a promise that the plane would not be used to spray trees producing rubber sold to China. Harold Wilson, former pres. of Britain's Board of Trade, commented:

> "In this spiteful decision the U.S. administration has reached an all-time low in ineffective vindictiveness" (**NYT,** 7/53).

Szpilki, Warsaw

THE RICE MARKET: In Burma, which faces a crisis in its all-important rice export trade with a mounting rice surplus for this half-year, the influential pro-government English daily **New Times of Burma** voiced a suspicion that the U.S. was "behind the insidious plan to cut off rice markets from Burma" and thus force her into the "American sphere of influence" (**NYT,** 7/5).

The paper recommended consulting Peking about the possibility of selling rice to Chinese provinces adjacent to Burma, and about "reopening the wartime Lashio-Kunming Road and [providing] an invaluable backdoor to the friendly Chinese government."

As restlessness grew, so did Washington solicitousness for whatever goodwill it could win in Asia. Last May Secy. Dulles and MSA director Stassen made a whirlwind Asian tour, carrying such gifts from the President as a gun for Egypt's Naguib. Last week a new flying gift to the Asians was announced: Vice President Nixon would leave for a tour of the continent's "free world" remnants in the fall.

Will Winnie win?

By Gordon Schaffer

GUARDIAN special correspondent

LONDON

HOSTILITY to U.S. policy has grown apace in Britain during the past few weeks. There is nothing bitter about it; the people just feel they are being taken for a ride by Washington.

One effect has been a strange shake-up of the political scene. Business men are more ready to attack the U.S. trade embargoes than union leaders. Right-wing Labour MP's, who had sharply resisted cuts in arms expenditure and reversal of the party's support for German rearmament, are now more vocally anti-Soviet than Sir Winston himself. Attlee, far from hitting back after McCarthy's attack on him, turns his wrath on S. O. Davies, the MP who in the House of Commons denounces U.S. policy in terms you can hear today in any public house, factory or mine, and in a good many West End clubs.

THINKING AGAIN: The man-in-the-street is beginning to sort out his ideas. Broadly speaking, he accepted the Korean War as UN resistance to aggression. The contention of men like Sir John Pratt, 25-year adviser to the Foreign Office, that the British had fallen for a plot hatched by Rhee, MacArthur and Dulles, was dismissed as impossible. But with Rhee now exposed as the wrecker of the armistice and the exponent of all-out war, the man-in-the-street is thinking again.

When first steps were taken to build a W. European Defense Force, he was too bewildered by the warnings that Russia threatened Europe to offer serious opposition. When he saw Franco Spain, Fascist Greece and the Hitler generals scheduled as his allies, he became angry and suspicious. Now no one believes Russia is threatening to attack, and he begins to believe that the real purpose of European rearmament is to strengthen the atomic forces in Washington.

The wave of revulsion at the Rosenberg execution, and the growing feeling that Eisenhower is as much a puppet in McCarthy's hands as Hindenburg was in Hitler's have released much of this latent opposition.

THE BIG QUESTION: Postponement of the Bermuda Conference has been received with widespread regret, for public opinion sees Churchill as the one statesman who will dare to assert Britain's independence. Chancellor of the Exchequer Butler, who was the arch-exponent of Neville Chamberlain's appeasement policy, is certainly not looked upon as a modern John Bull; Eden looks like a spent force.

The question here is: Will Churchill stand up to the U.S., insist upon four-power talks? All the official "guidance" gives a contrary picture.

U.S.' hardening'; world is worried

(Continued from Page 1)

Lobby Senators were swinging into action for Rhee and more war. Acting GOP Senate leader Knowland, who two weeks ago advised Rhee to consent to the truce, said (7/5) that if he were Rhee he wouldn't accept a truce without a Korea united up to the Yalu River. The N.Y. **Daily News** (7/7) called Knowland's reversal

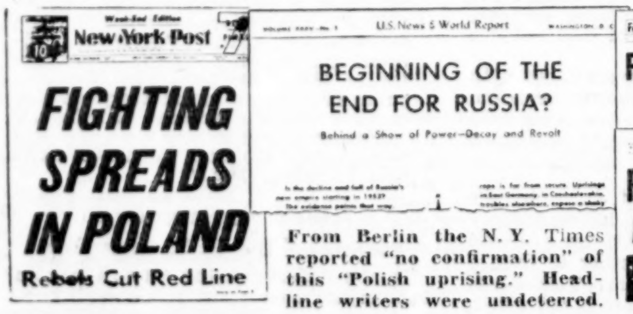
> . . . typical of much American thinking. . . . The Eisenhower Administration, we think, would be smart to take due and serious account of this significant shift in American opinion concerning Dr. Rhee.

Newsweek (7/6), reporting the President's efforts to get Rep. Dan Reed's support for extension of the excess profits tax, said Eisenhower told Reed "the war might continue for longer than was generally believed, and perhaps on a bigger scale."

"RHEE SHOULD BE SHOT": Washington's attitude to Rhee, who holds office solely by U.S. support, contrasted with that of the GI's. The N.Y. **World Telegram,** (7/2), reporting the arrival of 1,581 fighting men from Korea, said their joy

> . . . was strangely muted by an overpowering anger directed at Rhee for "messing up the truce" . . . "Rhee should be shot," was an expression frequently heard. "Why the hell should we have been in it in the first place?" was a question raised by others.

But questions like these were blacked out by yelling headlines about "Polish uprisings," "strikes," "hunger riots" etc. throughout E. Europe (see cut).



New York Post

FIGHTING SPREADS IN POLAND

Rebels Cut Red Line

U.S. News & World Report

BEGINNING OF THE END FOR RUSSIA?

Behind a Show of Power—Decay and Revolt

SUNDAY NEWS

REPORT MARTIAL LAW IN POLAND

Daily Mirror

REDS RUSH TANKS AS POLES REVOLT

From Berlin the N.Y. Times reported "no confirmation" of this "Polish uprising." Headline writers were undeterred.

"DEEP LONGING" FOR PEACE: Washington's provocations were already to some extent boomeranging. Demands for talks with Moscow came from all over W. Europe—from the French Socialist Party and the anti-Communist Intl. Confedn. of Free Trade Unions. **NYT** reported from Paris (7/5) that behind France's long cabinet crisis

> . . . was a deep longing, visible on every side, to take the Soviet Union's peace offers at face value and to turn French efforts toward the road of peace, dropping defense and all its attendant burdens that prolong the national dependence upon the U.S.

On July 1, the Bonn parliament failed by only 11 votes to demand a four-power meeting with Moscow to act on the Soviet offer for a united Germany; **NYT** (7/7) headlined from Bonn: "U.S. Policy Backing Drops in Germany, Uprising in East Said to Have Added to Growing Disfavor of Washington's Program."

CONCILIATION GOES ON: The socialist world's determination to resist provocation, to continue seeking negotiations for peace, was seen not only in Korea—where China and N. Korea accepted a truce without Rhee, thus putting U.S. more-war advocates on the spot—but in the flexible policies adopted toward the situation created by U.S. Project X operations in E. Europe.

Changes in economic policy in E. Germany and Hungary—aimed at easing life for consumers, workers and farmers—showed, on the one hand, a grasp of the real problems created by the expenditure of U.S. millions for sabotage and terror. On the other, the strength of the socialist economy which can now permit some relaxation in the pace of industrialization and push more actively for trade with all countries.

IKE SEES FOOD SURPLUS HANDY WEAPON IN COLD WAR

U.S. farm "crisis" perils home and world economy

By Lawrence Emery

AN old and familiar paradox today again haunts the Western World: U.S. farm abundance not only threatens the entire domestic economy but bids to disrupt U.S. trade relations with "friendly" nations.

While millions have too little to eat and wear, the U.S. has too much food and fiber. President Eisenhower and his Agriculture Dept. have two answers: restrict production, preferably by squeezing at least 1,000,000 farmers off the land, and "dump" the country's incredible food surpluses on the world market.

ON THE SKIDS: For the farmer who produced the abundance, disaster looms. In the past two years farm prices have skidded downward by about 16%; farm costs have gone up 25%; farm income stands at a 12-year low. Farm exports today are 30% behind a year ago. As early as February this year, **U.S. News** said:

> A farmer, on the average, in 1953, will get a smaller proportion of the national income than in any year since the depression bottom of 1932.

The farmers' share of the consumers' dollar has shrunk to 46c. A move for a Congressional study of what happens to the other 54c was recently blocked—but for the fiscal year ending March 31 General Foods had a net income of $25 million, A & P net profits of more than $29 million.

"TOO MUCH FOOD": This year's wheat crop promises to be well over one billion bushels; with the carry-over from last year the 1953-54 supply is expected to reach a staggering all-time record of 1,707,500,000 bushels. Corn is equally abundant. Agriculture Secy. Benson is required under existing law (to which he is opposed) to support the price of wheat at 90% of parity. But farmers can qualify for this ratio only if adequate storage facilities are available for their crops, and Benson is opposed to providing government facilities. The **Farmer's Union Herald** wrote on June 22:

> The Secretary . . . has made it clear that he thinks farmers produce too much food. He has made it clear that he is for lower price supports. . . . We have the prospect of huge crops of grain but little, if anything, has been done to provide adequate storage facilities. If farmers, because of lack of storage space, cannot take advantage of price supports, they will be forced to sell on the "free market" advocated by Benson. That will mean cash prices far under the loan values if crop prospects are borne out by the harvest.

THE BIN CRISIS: Early in June the Agriculture Dept. called a top-level meeting in Des Moines to sound out its non-storage program; Undersecy. True D. Morse told the press before the meeting:

"We are moving forward on the premise that grain storage should not be run by the government. It should be stored by farmers on the farm and when it leaves the farm it should be handled by commercial people."

At the meeting he said he would regard any new storage bins put up by the government as monuments to stupidity. But farmer reaction was swift and decisive; the **Wall St. Journal** reported next day:

> The Undersecy.'s remarks got a lukewarm response. . . . Before the meeting was over even some government Production and Marketing Administration officials indicated they thought the government would have to go into the bin building business again to take care of the surplus grain.

Even so, grain farmers are faced with a possible loss of $2 billion through bin shortages; wheat is already being sold from 40 to 75c below parity, now fixed at $2.21 a bushel.

PRODUCE LESS? Next move in the "crisis" of abundance is mandatory under the law: wheat farmers will vote by secret ballot on whether to reduce their acreage next year. Two-thirds must approve; if reduction is not voted, the price support automatically goes down from 90% of parity to 50%. Many a small and medium farm would go under in that event. But acreage reduction will not solve the "problem" of abundance. With new cheap nitrogen fertilizers available, the yield per acre can be so increased that there is likely to be no reduction of the total crop.

For its overall "solution" of the "farm problem," the new Administration aims eventually to eliminate all government price supports, and with them the family-sized farms.

"PLOWING FARMERS UNDER": Sen. Mike Monroney (D-Okla.) summed it up in April:

> "In other words, the only suggestion about the agricultural situation that I have understood to come from the Administration is this newly-proposed Republican agricultural plan, if we may call it that. In the past the Republicans condemned the Democrats for plowing cotton under, but now the Republicans, under the new plan, seem to call for plowing the marginal farmer under. Whereas we Democrats have been worried about disposing of farm surpluses, the Republicans are trying to dispose of surplus farmers.
>
> "I wonder where we shall ever wind up under a philosophy—thank goodness it is not yet legislation—that the farm family, raising American children, and molding American character in them, must be displaced because it is not a satisfactory unit in our big business scheme of things.
>
> "Are we going to step from General Motors and General Foods to General Farming, Inc.?"

Allied nations are menaced by U. S. dumping

In the meantime, the Administration is worrying over what to do with government holdings of surplus food. The Credit Commodity Corp. now holds stocks worth more than $3 billion. Grain is bursting the seams of everything that can hold it; last week 50 more idle ships were taken over for grain storage. In the Southwest it was being "stored" on the ground in the open. Storage charges were running to a total of about $400,000 a day. Much of the food in government storage, like butter, was in danger of spoiling—a scandal in a hungry world.

On June 24 the **Journal of Commerce** reported:

> Foreign nations which are concerned that U.S. surpluses of farm products may be dumped in their own export markets at cut prices have started to call the matter officially to the attention of the government.

TOO MUCH CHEESE: New Zealand which depends largely on dairy exports, in a formal note expressed "great anxiety" at U.S. stocks of butter, chees and dry skim milk which about equal a year's N.Z. exports. The note said:

> The mere existence of heavy surpluses of butter, cheese and milk powder in the U.S. has had a depressing effect in world markets for these commodities. Apparently as a result of the expectation of drawing upon U.S. stocks, certain countries have already diminished or closed markets hitherto enjoyed by New Zealand.

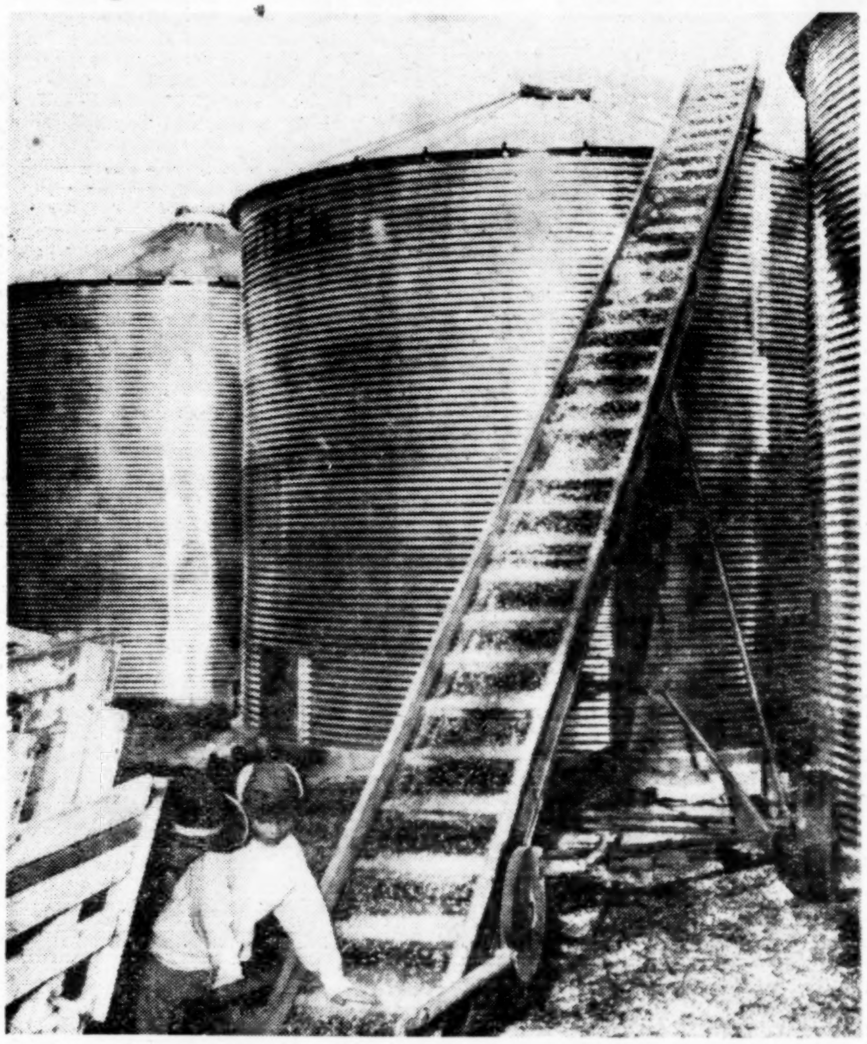
PROBLEMS EXPORTED: Such fears became widespread when Eisenhower on June 30 asked Congress for stand-by authority to use food surpluses as he sees fit for relief of famine and other emergencies in "friendly" countries. The **N.Y. Times** reported from Geneva, Switzerland (7/6), that European economists fear

> . . . the beginning of a U.S. policy of financing large-scale exports of otherwise unsalable farm products. . . . In fact, the first reaction to the prospect suggested by the recent developments in the U.S. is one of great concern lest the U.S. be drawn little by little into a policy of seeking to solve its domestic agricultural problems by "exporting" them. It is feared that this, in turn, would lead to disputes, reprisals and general deterioration in the economic relations among non-Communist countries, which are none too good as matters stand now.

THAT'S PSYCHOLOGY: A Republican master-stroke for disposal of surplus food was revealed last week in a story from Germany, confirmed next day in Washington. The idea simply is to dump butter, wheat and other commodities in E. Germany in what the Washington **Post** described as a "major psychological warfare move":

> The idea of those pushing the plan is to put the Soviet Union on the spot by telling the East Zone Germans by radio that food is available. Then, if the Soviet powers let the Germans have the food, America will be able to say "we sent it." If they are unable to get it, America can say that the Communist regime kept the Germans from getting the food.

In Eisenhower's Washington, food is to be used for anything except to eat.



Surpluses are busting out all over

At Enterprise, Iowa, surplus corn flows into one of 26,000 aluminum bins bought by the Commodity Credit Corp. to store grain surpluses. Withheld from needy peoples for seasons, surplus grains now threaten to undersell other countries in U.S.-controlled markets—with left-overs to fatten East German saboteurs.

Defense counsel to handle gifts to Rosenberg boys

Pending establishment of a trust fund for Michael and Robbie Rosenberg, attorney Emanuel H. Bloch has accepted responsibility for all funds contributed in their behalf. Their parents, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, designated Mr. Bloch guardian of the children and administrator of their estate on the eve of their execution June 19.

A memorandum has been sent to all Rosenberg Committees throughout the country by the Natl. Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, advising that all contributions for the children be sent directly to Emanuel H. Bloch, trustee, 401 Broadway, New York 13, N.Y.

Harper wants more help

SEATTLE

Clark Harper, $16,000 FBI informer, had an unhappy time when he took the stand against the Northwest group on trial under the Smith Act. Fussed by his failure to recall titles of books he earlier called "subversive," and unable to give even a general appraisal of their contents, "expert" Harper was handed a document reading:

"Whereas a struggle is going on in all of the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalists and laborers, which grows in intensity from year to year and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit. . . ."

Harper, anxious to retrieve his position, said: "That is from the Communist Manifesto."

In the hullabaloo that followed the disclosure that it was from the constitution of the AFL, Harper glanced piteously at special prosecutor Tracy Griffin, said: "If Mr. Griffin would give me more help, I would be better off!"

NEW YORK EDITION
Vol. 5, No. 38 NEW YORK, JULY 13, 1953

WHAT HAUNTS AMERICANS?

Hundreds sleep in the streets for a lifetime job at $60 a week

By Elmer Bendiner

JERRY GIORDANO, 32, of 2325 Arthur Av., the Bronx, used to be a grocery clerk. On a Saturday afternoon several weeks ago he was fired abruptly, without notice.

On Friday evening, June 26, he took a blanket and folding-chair down to the Alfred E. Smith Memorial Playground at 100 Cherry St., Manhattan. There he pitched a rough lean-to with the blanket supported by a couple of poles stuck in the playground fence. He camped there all Friday night. He was still there on Tuesday afternoon, June 30, when a GUARDIAN reporter talked with him. Strung behind him along the playground's edge were 381 other men, most of whom like himself, had been sleeping in the street since Friday night.

IT'S THE WORRY: On Wednesday morning, July 1, the city was to choose 180 men for day-laborer jobs; rough work in any city department that needs it; pay—$2,700 to $3,100 a year, $50-$60 a week before taxes.

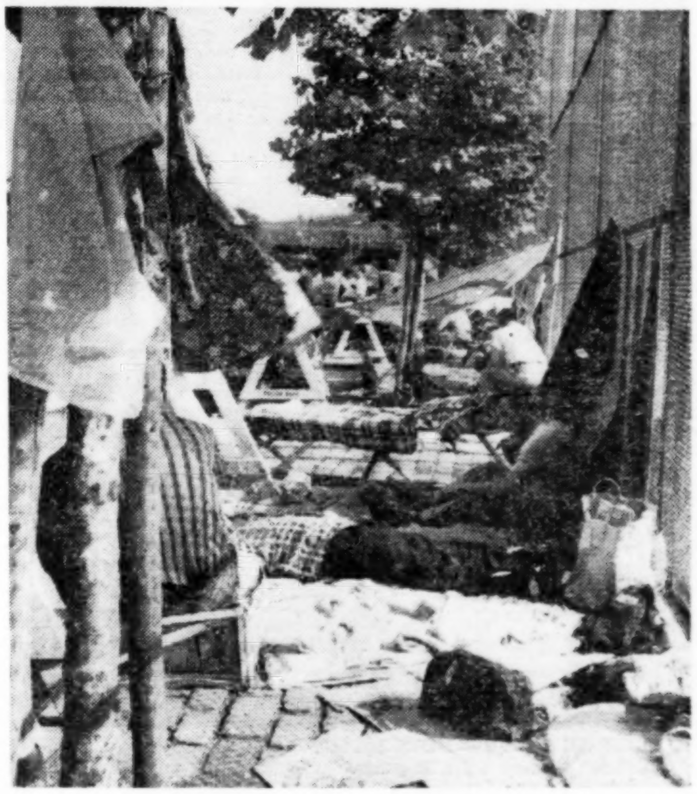
Giordano, seated on his folding stool looked up from his evening newspaper and explained:

"I've got two kids. I need steady work. They'd lay you off on Saturday without warning. I want something where I don't have to worry about getting fired."

The three other men who shared his lean-to, away from the broiling sun, nodded their heads, said only: "That's the story."

SECURITY'S WORTH IT: A cardboard sign above their shelter read: "The Bronx Four." They said they hadn't known each other before they came down. Each had read about the jobs in civil-service papers; each thought a job that couldn't be pulled from under him on a moment's notice was worth five days and nights in the street.

It was the same story down the long line of lean-tos and into the playground. Everywhere men from early 20's to mid-40's lay or sat on the pavement, smoked, played cards, talked. It looked like a hurriedly thrown-up reception center for the army.



Guardian photos by Bernard

In the street with an eye to the future

A WIFE TOO? There was the same camaraderie, the same impromptu organization of men thrown together. They were not desperate men such as filled depression job-lines.

Some had been out of work, but most held jobs. What they sought was not a job alone but a job free from fear, a job they could count on. Raymond Dannibale, 25, of 2383 Belmont Av., the Bronx, told reporters:

"Where I worked was a non-union shop. They could fire you any time they wanted. This way there's nothing to worry about. Maybe I can get married."

NO ILLUSIONS: Casper Mannone, a young man in his 20's, had tried for a similar job in 1949. He was 400th on the line then, but by the time the doors opened for applications the crowd had pushed him back to the 900's. He was 13th on line Friday night. He and Silvio Campolo handed out numbers to each man waiting. Patrols went up and down the line every two hours checking each man in his place to be sure that no one went home for a good night's sleep, then muscled in on the line with those who sweated it out.

Even the youngest ones looked forward eagerly to $3,100 a year until they reach 55 and a city pension. In the line were TV mechanics (weary of slack times) and cab drivers fed up with the uncertainty of a day's earnings. There was no hunger but also no illusions.

FIRST COME . . . : At 8 a.m. when the city's six cashiers, five fingerprint-takers and seven assistants began to process the job applicants, the crowd stormed over police barriers. There were then 7,500 waiting. Police recognized the men's own numbering system.

First on line will go to work in three months—and perhaps ever after.

Where a lay-off isn't in the cards

Infantry

Nearer the cradle, endlessly
rocking,
A banker, a statesman and
general are talking
Their tongues seem tuned to
a quiet theme
But the baby wakes and begins to scream
Calling for help in its cradle
curled
To the hands and the hearts
and the hopes of the world.

Hearns strike leaders get Velde treatment

THE House Un-American Activities Committee had a time table for July. It called for a stop-over in New York City to catch the Hearns strike, then a quick trip upstate to where the United Electrical Workers continues to win workers' support.

In the past the committee has paid house calls to Detroit when auto workers were restive, to Chicago when farm equipment workers were on strike. At Mt. Sinai Hospital, where he was recovering from a strained ligament in his side, chairman Velde ignored the timing, said only that the committee was turning its "attention to subversion in the field of labor."

8-WEEK STRIKE: As the Un-AAC came to town the Distributive, Office & Processing Workers (CIO) had completed eight weeks of strike against Hearns Dept. Stores and had announced plans to stick it out all summer.

Hearns has refused to negotiate with the DPOW on a staff-cutting plan, has sought to break the strike by injunctions and full-page ads denouncing the union leadership as communist (though CIO pres. Walter Reuther had personally cleared them for readmission to CIO).

THE THREAT: The top six DPOW leaders were called before the committee in New York last Monday. Among them was Carl Andren, vice-pres. of Dist. 65, who told the committee that in pre-strike negotiations with Hearns boss Albert M. Greenfield, "we were threatened that if there was a strike, the committee would come, and here it is."

DPOW secy.-treas. David Livingston began his testimony: "May I make my request to you that these hearings be adjourned until the Hearns strike is . . ."

Acting committee chairman Kit Clardy (R-Mich.) cut him off with the gavel.

HAD IT BEFORE: DPOW in the course of negotiating with CIO has red-baited on its own; but before the committee Livingstone refused all traps set for him, stood on the Fifth Amendment in declining to answer. When numerous variations of the $64 question on political affiliations were put to him, he said:

"I believe that the question violates my rights under the Constitution. Therefore I respectfully decline to answer. . . . Because I believe that answers to these questions may be used by people not interested in truth but in frame-up. . . . If you answer it you subject yourself to an easy frame by a lying stoolpigeon, which has happened to me before."

STRIKE GOES ON: Dist. 65 Director of Organization William Michaelson also stood on the Fifth. Pres. Arthur Osman, vice-pres. Jack Paley and organizer Peter Stein took the oath together, their lawyer stipulating that all three would take the same stand.

After the hearing Velde asked the National Labor Relations Board to cancel DPOW's bargaining rights. He said that when witnesses stahd on their constitutional rights under the Fifth Amendment in refusing to answer $64 questions "we must infer that they are still engaged in subversive activity."

The picket lines around Hearns' two stores continued. Court orders had limited each line to 200 but many non-Hearns workers came down to spell picketers. All strikers were receiving benefits from the strike fund. The AFL Teamsters Union lent its support, making it impossible for United Parcel men or other union truckers to cross the line.

The committee had clearly done what it could to bolster the Hearns "anti-communist" campaign against its workers, and prepared to do as much for GE vs. UE.

OLD TARGET: UE has long been a favorite Un-AAC target.

DAVID LIVINGSTON

No easy frame . . .

In June the union's Washington representative Russ Nixon told committee members:

"This committee is an anti-labor agent, always on call for the boss."

When the committee announced its upstate invasion a month ago, naming UE as its victim, UE was heatedly negotiating with GE. Since then a settlement has been reached, but the area is still "sensitive."

PASS THE AMMO: The giant plant at Schenectady is GE's home base. In face of repeated campaigns by GE, CIO Intl. Union of Electrical Workers, Congress and the press, the workers have maintained UE as their bargaining agent. The spectacle of Schenectady workers sticking to the union has sparked a variety of legislation directed against stubborn workers who pick unions out of official favor.

Another reason for the inquisition's excursion is a ripening situation at the General Cable Co. plant at Rome, N. Y. A year ago UE fought and won a 6-months strike there and forced General Cable to sign a contract last December. That contract expires at the end of September when there may be new elections, new crises.

The committee was hurrying to Rome last week to pass the ammunition.

LEVITTOWN IN THE CAUCASUS

The five-year war against jimcrow on an L.I. barony

FOR a year and a half the American Labor Party had been meeting regularly and peacefully at Levittown Hall. It was to have met there last June 25 to hear GUARDIAN's business manager Leon Summit discuss the Rosenberg case.

At 1 p.m. June 24 Dick Geruse, director of Levittown Hall, received a terse telephone order from the realty office of Levitt & Sons to cancel the meeting. He did, but under protest—maintaining ALP's right to the hall as a bona fide Levittown organization, objecting to the censorship of any organization's program.

Levitt & Sons, which owns the hall until Jan., 1954, acted within hours after receiving a telegram from the North East Meadow Civic Assn., a newly-formed group for "the fighting of Communists and fellow travelers whenever and wherever discovered."

"RETALIATION": The wire gave as one reason for barring Summit the explanation that the GUARDIAN's "editor is being held for deportation by the Federal Government as disloyal alien." (Belfrage is free on bail; no hearing on government charges has been set.)

The ALP met that night, heard Summit in a private Levittown home crowded to the doors with some 70 neighbors. The Nassau County office of ALP filed its protest in terms that gave a setting for the ban. ALP called it "retaliation against a five-year-long fight against discriminatory policies in Levittown in the refusal to sell or rent homes to Negroes."

THE BARONY: Levittown is not a quite a town (it has no political boundaries; it is nine-tenths in Hempstead, one-tenth in Oyster Bay). It grew out of a post-war real estate scheme of William Levitt into a community of 75,000, but this growing town is still administered in the baronial manner of a real estate operator.

From the start Levitt's barony was to be lily-white. Also from the start Levitt's policy ran into resistance. Some resisters organized the Committee to End Discrimination in Levittown, which rallied other Nassau County organizations in March, 1949, after Levitt & Sons had refused to sell homes to Negro war veterans.

THE COTTERS AT HOME — HOW LONG?
Non-Caucasians—keep off the grass.

UN-CAUCASIANS: In the summer of that year Levitt leases contained a clause in bold type stipulating that "tenant agrees . . . not to permit . . . premises to be occupied by others than . . . of the Caucasian race." The lease specified "employment and maintenance of other than Caucasian servants . . . permitted." Verbally Levitt's managers warned tenants they were not to entertain "other than Caucasian" guests.

> "The typical Caucasian is distinguished . . . by light skin (though in aberrant groups as dark as the Ethiopic); hair ranging from fair to black, soft, straight or wavy and in transverse section oval; beard full; skull variable, though mostly mesocephalic; cheek bones retreating; nose narrow and prominent; jaws orthognathous; teeth small."
>
> **Webster's New Intl. Dictionary.**

Tenants, in great numbers, did not agree. To their defense the CED called up the NAACP, American Veterans Committee, B'nai B'rith, American Jewish Congress, ALP. The joint campaign forced Levitt to drop the clause but not the principle.

A. D. 1950

A year later, in August, 1950, Adolf Ross and a neighbor had a children's party on their adjoining lawns. Some of the children were "other than Caucasian." Two weeks later Levitt management told them their leases would not be renewed.

The CED went on a doorbell-ringing campaign throughout Levittown. The NAACP took the case to court. Supporting briefs were filed by the N. Y. Civil Liberties Union, American Jewish Congress, American Jewish Committee, Nassau Co. Americans for Democratic Action, Anti-Defamation League, American Veterans Committee.

While Levitt defended the Caucasian line in the courts, two Negro families bought homes from private owners in Levittown, quietly moved in, were welcomed by neighbors.

A. D. 1951

In June, 1951, CED called a conference at Hofstra College in Hempstead. Civil libertarian Arthur Garfield Hays, Judge Hubert T. Delany, Councilman Stanley Isaacs joined 25 clergymen of all faiths, legislators and community leaders in sponsoring it. All endorsed the CED program.

After 14 months of legal battles the N. Y. Supreme Court in Oct., 1951, ruled that Levitt could pick his own tenants, use his own criteria. The Ross' neighbors gave up and moved. The Rosses were to be evicted Feb. 19, 1952.

At that point of the fight Philip Murray spoke out against Levitt's Caucasian policy. When eviction day rolled around, some 400 Negro and white friends were visiting the Rosses. The marshall's men never showed up. Levitt took the Ross' rent and let them stay.

ENTER MORRIS: About the time the Rosses and their neighbors were scoring this victory, Levitt was reportedly selling out of Levittown. Two other corporations bought up the land and houses, took over the leases, but the extent of Levitt's continued interest in the property remained vague. Morris Management undertook the agency for most of the houses, renting and selling avowedly under the same old Levitt Caucasian policy.

In the winter of 1952 William Cotter, automobile mechanic, went looking for a house in Levittown. In June of that year authorities assured him he'd have his house within 48 hours; he moved out of his quarters in Port Washington. Before he moved in, Morris Management—having had the opportunity to see that the Cotters were Negro—reconsidered and denied them a house. Harold Johnson, a Levittown tenant, who had to take his own family west, invited the Cotters in as guests.

NICE PEOPLE: Mr. Cotter works as a fender and body repair man in Great Neck 15 miles away. The family settled down. They have five children now—two girls aged 12 and 11, three boys, six years, 18 months and two months.

The Cotters attend the Levittown Community Church, the kids go to Sunday School, use Levittown's park and pool, mix well in Levittown's active social life. Levittowners, if they ever took Caucasian policies seriously, quickly overcame them and liked their new neighbors.

A. D. 1953

Morris Management stuck to its guns. Again and again the Cotters, while staying on as the Johnson's guests, tried to buy or rent. Four-room Levittown houses are credited as good buys at $8,490 with $820 down or renting at $68 a month.) For a while there was the familiar runaround; then, early this spring, Richard Wasserman of Morris told Cotter bluntly he was "undesirable."

The Cotters' pastor Rev. Donner Bates Atwood was shocked when he heard the story; he checked with Morris, found them holding firmly to a "legal right" and a Caucasian principle.

"END YOUR BIGOTRY": Last month Wasserman wrote to Harold Johnson:

"Our lease with you on 26 Butternut Lane, Levittown, N. Y., has expired, and we are demanding possession of the premises. We do not intend to renew this lease. . . . We shall institute a proceeding for the delivery of immediate possession to us unless the premises are vacated without delay."

Johnson answered: "I am incensed by your letter ordering me to throw my close friends, the William Cotters, out of my house. Do you actually expect me to persecute this Negro family? . . . I happen to believe in the American principle of brotherhood and the God-given right of all people to live where they choose. From what I know of Levittown and my immediate neighbors, I know they share my views and welcome the Cotters as good friends and neighbors Remember, any action you threaten me with is, in effect, action against the Cotters who have five young children, their infant but a few weeks old. Why don't you end your inhuman bigotry and sell the Cotter family a house?"

NO VACANCY: There are vacancies at Levittown and the line of buyers and renters forms every week-end at the doors of Morris Management. Some are Negroes; for them there are no vacancies. Three weeks ago two Negro couples came out of the office and walked over to the picket-line which the Committee to End Discrimination maintains every Saturday morning. They told pickets that a representative of Morris had said frankly:

"We don't sell to Negroes. This is an all-white community."

Among those turned down the same day was a Negro army officer stationed at nearby Mitchel Field.

Neighbor speaks up

LEVITTOWN, N. Y.

I am having my wife write this for me because I am a completely paralyzed polio patient confined to a respirator for the past four years. But in spite of my own condition, I feel a sense of outrage and indignation at the situation of a close neighbor and good friend of mine, Mr. William Cotter.

Mr. Cotter lives in a Cape Cod home in Levittown and his back yard adjoins mine. He lives there as a guest of the tenant, who is away on a trip. Mr. Cotter has . . . applied to rent or purchase a home time and again, and has been consistently refused. The last time, in fact, he was bluntly told he was "undesirable" because of the color of his skin.

Last week my wife went to the buying office to see about purchasing our home, which has been altered to fit my particular needs. While there, she asked why the Cotters were having such difficulty buying a home, remarking that they were well liked in the neighborhood. She was told that the Cotters would never be allowed to buy a house in Levittown, and if we felt differently, we needn't buy one here either.

In indignation, my wife wrote Morris Management a letter protesting their decision concerning the Cotters. She took it around to the closest neighbors, and all of them were glad to sign it.

Lawrence Alexander
By Norma Alexander

prize modern

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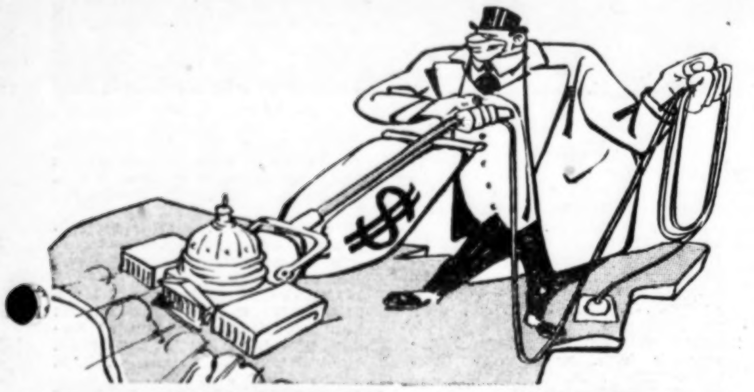

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Copy deadline Tuesday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 17 Murray St., N. Y. 7.

NEW YORK CALENDAR

YORKVILLE and EAST BRONX COMPASS CLUBS join in presenting a sensational forum: "**McCARTHY AND ANTI-SEMITISM,**" Wed., July 15, 8:30 p.m. New documented evidence — names, dates, facts — first time on any platform! Hear **CHARLES R. ALLEN, JR.,** former Asst. Editor, The Nation; man who exposed "detention" camps in U. S.; and **ARTHUR J. DLUGOFF,** Natl. Guardian correspondent; former Compass special writer; man who exposed 1952 Nazi Bund revival in Yorkville. Audience discussion. Free iced drinks. **YORKVILLE TEMPLE,** 157 E. 86th St., Manhattan. Donation: 75c; members 50c.

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New Yorkers meet to defend Negro leadership

THE caliber of Negro union leadership is tested by "whether it actually engages the enemy on the battlefront in defense and support of progressive trade union principles," said Mrs. Vicki Garvin, Negro trade unionist, at the first regional meeting June 27 of the Natl. Committee to Defend Negro Leadership. Several delegates came from the South to the all-day conference in the United Mutual Auditorium in Harlem. Defense of Negro religious, cultural, professional and political leadership was also discussed.

Mrs. Garvin, removed as vice-pres. of Distributive, Processing & Office Workers (Dist. 65) over disagreement with leadership policies on organizing the South, is exec. secy. of the Greater New York Negro Labor Council. She said:

"Persecution of Harry Bridges, Abram Flaxer and James Matles represents persecution of Negro trade union leaders, since the unions under attack are precisely those whose progressive programs Negro leaders helped develop."

SKIPPERS: Chairman was Capt. Hugh Mulzac, wartime skipper of the Liberty ship Booker T. Washington, now beached with other Negro commanders.

Brooklyn's Rev. William Howard Melish said the Velde Un-American Activities Committee can be expected to attack ministers and churches advocating Negro-white unity. Because the Attorney General's "subversive list" of 224 contains "a very considerable" number of religious workers, there will be in time "less fear and reluctance for church leadership to work with secular groups" against the witch-hunters.

Marxist educator Prof. Doxey Wilkerson of New York's Jefferson School, speaking of cultural and professional figures under attack, said that just as the Rosenbergs' execution 24 hours after Rhee "defied" UN was not accidental, so it was not accidental that Negro intellectuals "who identify themselves with the people" were persecuted as "a serious threat to the enemy." It would be strange, he said, if men like Robeson and DuBois were not attacked today. Wilkerson had himself just been subpenaed by the McCarthy Committee.

WON'T SHUT MOUTHS: Attempts to slash Howard University's budget, and hounding of such persons as himself, novelist-poet Langston Hughes and painter Charles White, proved the enemy's fear "of what the Negro people will do under inspiration of Negro intellectuals," Wilkerson said—another way of ordering: "Keep your damned mouth shut." But "the fight-back movement is developing even among college professors not noted in our country for their militancy," as well as among "scientists and preachers." However, intellectuals could not be expected to give decisive leadership to their people; that would come from Negro workers.

Both William L. Patterson, head of Civil Rights Congress, and Pettis Perry, Communist Party national committeeman awaiting U.S. Supreme Court action on his appeal from a Smith Act conviction, dealt with attacks on Negro political leaders. Negroes, said Perry, are faced with a situation "where if they stand alone they are annihilated; if they stand with their white brothers they are charged with conspiracy." The answer is "boldness—going to the people."

MULTIPLY BY 12: Nathaniel Bond, Durham, N.C., NAACP exec. board member and head of the Daniels Defense Committee, called the South "a political prison" for Negroes from which they are breaking out with the help of white allies. M. W. Jones, Baltimore machine-shop worker, dropped a hint to persons who believe a man with 12 children—like himself—is safer for reaction "because he has so much more to lose;" in fact he said, the father of 12 fights 12 times as hard.

Rev. Edward D. McGowan is chairman of NCDNL. Its address: 1660 Fulton St., Room 21, Brooklyn 13, N.Y.

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Radio Tips

Some revealing statements pro and con U.S. policy will probably be made at the Colgate Univ. Foreign Policy Conf., to be broadcast from the campus at Hamilton, N.Y., by station WNYC Sun.-Thurs., July 11-16. Selected programs are listed below along with other WNYC offerings.

Sunday, July 12—GENERAL CRITIQUE OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY, Prof. Frederick L. Schuman, Williams College. 3-4:55 p.m. (Colgate Conf.)

Monday, July 13—THE AMERICAN CHARACTER, Mark Benney, Research Dir., London School of Economics; Francis L. K. Hsu and Chas. Hyneman, Northwestern Univ. 6 pm. Northwestern Univ. Reviewing Stand.

Wednesday, July 15—THE CONDUCT OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE (Colgate Conf.) 2:30-3:55 p.m.

Thursday, July 16—LATIN AMERICA: ARE WE LOSING ITS FRIENDSHIP? (Colgate Conf.) 2:30 p.m.
THE AMERICAN MISSION TODAY, James A. Farley, Coca Cola bd. chmn., and Everett Case, Colgate U. pres. 5 p.m.
ADVENTURE AND SECURITY IN A CHANGING WORLD, Dr. Franz G. Alexander, Dir., Institute for Psychoanalysis of Chicago. "For Doctors Only" series, 9 p.m.

Friday, July 17—IS THERE AN ADOLESCENT IN YOUR HOME? Dr. Michael Antell, N.Y.C. Health Dept. "You and Your Health" series. 10:30 a.m.

Saturday, July 18—LIFE AND WORKS OF BALZAC, part 5, the controversial play "Les Ressources de Quinola," further work on "Human Comedy" 4 p.m.

Like this week's GUARDIAN? Mail it to a friend. Use 2c stamp and an unsealed envelope.

Events for Children

JULY 12-19

Films

MUSEUM OF CITY OF N. Y., 5th Av. & 103d St. Free. Travel Film: YELLOWSTONE, Wed., July 15, 11 a.m. & 2 p.m.

AMER. MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, Central Park W. & 79th St. Free. ANIMALS IN THE SERVICE OF MAN & ANDY'S ANIMAL ALPHABET, Wed., July 15, 3:30 p.m.

B'KLYN MUSEUM, Eastern Parkway & Washington Av. Free. Travel Film: ANCIENT WORLD & JOURNEY TO PROVENCE, Wed., July 15, 2 p.m.

TRAVEL FILMS: The Brooklyn Museum, Eastern Parkway & Washington Av. Mondays & Wednesdays, 2 p.m. Free.

B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM, B'klyn Av. & Park Pl. Free. Short documentary films, beginning July 11. Mon. thru. Fri., 11 a.m., 2 & 4 p.m.

BROADWAY THEATER, 49th St. & B'way. FOWL WEATHER; AMERIC AFOR ME; DESERT KILLER, Sat. thru Tues., July 11-14.

Miscellaneous

OUTDOOR STORY HOURS: N. Y. Historical Society, 170 Central Park W. Fridays all month. TR 7-2917. **N. Y. Public Library**, conducts story hours in parks and playgrounds in Manhattan, Bronx and Staten Island. Call BR 9-1500, Ext. 23, for further information.
Brooklyn Public Library offers "Met Us Under the Library Umbrella," story hours at parks and playgrounds. Inquire at your local branch library.

HAYDEN PLANETARIUM: DESTINATION SATURN, imaginary space trip to one of Saturn's moons from which the ringed planet is observed "close up." Mon-Fri. at 2, 3:30 & 8:30 p.m.; Sat., 11 a.m., 2, 3, 4 & 5 p.m.; Sun., 2, 3, 4 & 5 p.m. Children 40c; adults 65c afts.; eves. 95c.

BIKE & HIKE TRIPS: American Youth Hostel leadership.
BIKE: Long but flat 80 mile round trip, with swimming at Hecksher State Park. Meet 8 a.m. at Sunrise H'way & Woodhaven Blvd. Sat., July 18.
BIKE: Thru Westchester to Tarrytown. Bring roastables. Meet 9 a.m. at Poe Park, Grand Conc., Bronx. Sun., July 19.
MANHATTAN HOSTELERS MEETING & BEACH PARTY: Bring roastables for fun at undeveloped beach on Staten Island. Meet 2 p.m., N. Y. side of S. I. Ferry. Sun., July 19.

MARIONETTE CIRCUS, Dept. of Parks. Free.
RICHMOND:
Mon., July 3, 11 a.m.—Goodhue Playground, Brighton & Lafayette Avs., New Brighton.
Mon., July 13, 2:30 p.m.—Levy Playground, Castleton & Jewett Avs., W. Brighton.
Tues., July 14, 11 a.m.—Playground at Lincoln & Boundary Avs., Grant City.
Tues., July 14, 2:30 p.m.—Berry Houses Playground, Richmond Rd. & Donegan Hills Av., Donegan Hills.
QUEENS:
Wed., July 15, 2:30 p.m.—Grover Cleveland Playground, Grandview Av. & Stanhope St., Ridgewood.
Thurs., July 16, 2:30 p.m.—Jackson Heights Playground, 34th Av. & 77th St., Jackson Heights.
Fri., July 17, 2:30 p.m.—Chisholm Playground, 115th St. & Poppenhusen Av., College Pt.

OUTDOOR DANCES: Dept. of Parks. For older children and only those accompanied by adults. 8:30-10:30 p.m. Free.
Mon., July 13—Colonial Park, 146th St. & Bradhurst Av.
Tues., July 14—Jackson Hgts. Playground, 84th St., Queens.
Wed., July 15—Poe Park, Grand Conc., Bronx.
Thurs., July 16—Wollman Memorial Rink, Central Park.
Fri., July 17—Prospect Park Dance Area, Prospect Park.

WE SUGGEST: Clip and save your Events for Children for a week. Most events are listed two weeks in advance to permit parents and children to plan their time together.

Movie Suggestions

Midtown

THE SEA AROUND US—Documentary. Trans-Lux 60th, Madison & 60th St.

STALAG 17—Astor, B'way & 45th.

TONIGHT AT 8:30—(Br.) composite of 3 Noel Coward plays. Baronet, 3d Av. at 59th St.

FANFAN THE TULIP—(Fr.) satire on war with Gerard Philipe. Fine Arts, 130 E. 58th St.

SEVEN DEADLY SINS—(Fr.-It.) 7 short films, one per sin. Paris, 4 W. 58th St.

JULIUS CAESAR — Shakespeare makes the big screen. Booth Theatre, 45th St., W. of B'way. Reserved seats.

Manhattan

AMERICAN, 236 E. 3d St. **Lenin in October** (Russ.) & **Straight Jackets** (Amer.), July 16-17.

ART, 36 E. 8th St. **Justice Is Done** (Fr.) & **Visit to Picasso**, July 10-17.

APOLLO, 223 W. 42d St. **Two Cents Worth of Hope** (It.), July 16-22.

BEEKMAN, 2d Av. bet. 65-66 Sts. **Moulin Rouge**, thru July 13; **Last Holiday** (Br., Guinness) & **Laughter in Paradise** (Br., Alastair Sim), July 14-20.

BEVERLY, 3d Av at 50th. **Ox Bow Incident** (reissue, study of a lynching) & **Talk of the Town**, July 12-14; **Black Narcissus** & **I Know Where I'm Going** (Br., Wendy Hiller), July 15-18.

BRYANT, 42d St. W. of 6th Av. **Elizabeth Is Queen**, cont.

85TH ST. TRANSLUX, Madison & 85th. **Justice Is Done** (Fr.), July 8-11.

8TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 52 W. 8th St. **Importance of Being Earnest**, July 11-14; **Hans Christian Andersen**, July 15-21.

5TH AV. PLAYHOUSE, 5th Av. & 13th St. **Kind Hearts and Coronets** (Guinness) & **The Lady Vanishes** (both Br.), thru July 16.

GRAMERCY, 23d & Lexington. **Justice Is Done**, July 10-14.

GREENWICH, Greenwich Av. at 12th St. **Imitation of Life** & **Lost Horizon**, July 8-11.

GUILD, 33 W. 50th St. **A Queen Is Crowned**, cont.

HEIGHTS, 150 Wadsworth Av. **Stairway to Heaven** & **Odd Man Out**, thru July 15.

LITTLE CARNEGIE, 146 W. 57th St. **Elizabeth Is Queen**, cont.

MIDTOWN, B'way & 100th. **Justice Is Done** & **Visit to Picasso**, from July 10.

NORMANDIE, 110 W. 57th. **Hundred Hour Hunt** (Br.), continuing.

68TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 1164 3d Av. **Moulin Rouge**, July 4-11.

STANLEY, 6th Av. at 42d St. **Stars of the Ukraine**, opens July 11.

WAVERLY, 6th Av. at 3d St. **Moulin Rouge**, thru July 11; **Snake Pit** & **Gentleman's Agreement**, July 16-17.

WORLD, 153 W. 49th, **Rome 11 O'Clock**, cont.

Bronx

ASCOT, 2313 Gr. Concourse. **Justice Is Done** & **Visit to Picasso**, thru July 13.

CREST, 1145 Ogden Av. **Moulin Rouge**, July 10-14.

Special

CLUB CINEMA, 6th Av. bet. 9-10 Sts. **Quartet**, July 10-12, 9:15 p.m.

MUS. OF MODERN ART, 11 W. 53d St. Shows 3 & 5:30 p.m.

Films of Ernst Lubitsch series.

The Marriage Circle (Lubitsch, 1924) "Introduction of sophisticated moral values into American film." July 6-12.

Three Women (1924), Pauline Frederick, May McAvoy, Marie Provost. July 13-19.

THALIA INTL. FILM FESTIVAL, 95th & B'way. AC 2-3370.

Gorky's **Lower Depths** (Fr., Gabin-Jouvet) & Dostoyevski's **Eternal Husband** (Fr., Raimu), Sat., July 11.

Devil in the Flesh (Fr., G. Philipe) & **Bicycle Thief** (It.), Sun-Mon., July 12-13.

Pepe Le Moko & **Secret of Mayerling** (both Fr.), Tues., July 14.

Steinbeck's **Forgotten Village** (set in Mexico) & Magnani & DeSica in **Peddling in Society** (It.), Wed., July 15.

Eisenstein's **Ivan the Terrible** & **The Stone Flower** (Russ. folk tale), Thurs., July 16.

Dostoyevski's **The Idiot** & **Crime and Punishment**, Fri., July 17.

Where to Go

BURLAP SUMMER THEATER — 2 one-acters, **Soul Gone Home**, by Langston Hughes, and **The Other Foot**, by Julian Mayfield, and variety artists Isabel Sandford and Richard Ward; produced by Maxwell Glanville. Club Baron, 437 Lenox Av. Reserv: UN 4-4002. Admission: voluntary cont. Perfs, Thurs. thru Sun. 8:40 p.m.

STADIUM CONCERTS—Music under the stars at Lewisohn Stadium, Amsterdam Av. bet. 136-138 Sts. $1.20 for chairs, others seats from 30c, 8:30 p.m. Tickets AD 4-5800, CI 7-5534.

Sat., July 11: Kostelanetz conducting, Alec Templeton, piano.

Mon., July 13: Monteux conducting, Stell Andersen, pianist. Passacaglia and Fugue in C Minor, Bach-Respighi; 1st N.Y. perf. Fantasie Pastorale for piano and orch., Darius Milhaud.

Tues., July 14: All-French program celebrating Bastille Day. Monteux; Maxim Schapiro, pianist. Symphony on a French Mountain Air by Vincent d'Indy.

Wed., July 15: All-Tschaikowsky. Alexander Smallens, conductor, Assy Renardy, violinist.

Thurs., July 16: 23d annual Gershwin night. Smallens, Oscar Levant, pianist.

Sat., July 18: 8th annual Italian night. Alfredo Antonini, conductor; Herva Nelli, soprano; Jan Peerce, tenor; Frank Guarrera, baritone. 1st N.Y. concert perf. Verdi's Hymn to the Nations.

ALL INDOORS—Exhibit of 50 indoor photographs taken pre-flashbulb at the turn of the century by news photographer Percy C. Byron. Museum of City of N.Y., 5th Av. & 103d St. Free. Opens July 14.

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CENSORSHIP COMES OUT IN THE OPEN

Post Office ban on vets' paper threatens peace press

IN January, 1949, a group of New York veterans of World War II began publication of a four-page monthly newsletter with a single, basic editorial theme: peace in the world. Following inauguration of **Vet's Voice,** other groups of veterans in other parts of the country formed themselves into American Veterans for Peace. In July, 1951, **Vet's Voice** became the organization's official organ.

Consistently it advocated a cease-fire and a negotiated truce in Korea, opposed rearmament of Germany and Japan, urged Big Power peace talks to resolve world problems. It acquired a limited but devoted readership at home, became important to veteran's organizations abroad seeking news of veterans' peace activities in the U. S.

"NON-MAILABLE": In April this year the Solicitor of the Post Office Dept. in Washington declared that month's issue of **Vet's Voice** non-mailable under a section of the postal laws governing "Seditious and Treasonable Matter" and a section of the U. S. Code dealing with "Activities Affecting Armed Forces During War." It was one of the few outright suppressions of its kind in recent times.

The editors engaged a lawyer, demanded a bill of particulars, were informed by letter dated April 30 that the ban was based upon "the general tenor" of the April issue and had somehow to do

> . . . with attempts to cause insubordination, etc., in the military or naval forces of the U. S. or to obstruct the recruiting or enlistment service. . . .

A hearing on the charges was demanded; it was granted on June 11 and held in Washington. The Post Office Dept. Solicitor was represented by two government attorneys; he himself acted as both jury and judge.

THE TENOR: The government objected to nearly everything in the April issue; these were specified:

- A letter from a POW in Korea.
- An article by a Negro veteran criticizing the unequal treatment he had received in the army.
- A letter from a soldier in Korea, since killed in action, who expressed bitterness about "Operation Smack."
- A reprint of excerpts of an article by best-selling James A. Michener from **Readers Digest.**
- A story, reported fully in all U. S. newspapers, about hunger strikes in the Danish army protesting extention of the draft.
- A Fred Wright cartoon lampooning witch-hunters.

IS PEACE DISLOYAL? The attorney for **Vet's Voice** vainly pointed out that the Post Office Dept. was required not to like the paper or to agree with its contents, merely to deliver it. Eleven days after the hearing the suppression was upheld.

Vet's Voice editors have termed the action "completely illegal" and "a flagrant violation of the First Amendment" guaranteeing freedom of the press. They insist:

> There is absolutely nothing in our April issue which could possibly be interpreted as wilfully causing insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny or refusal of duty in the military forces of the U. S. or wilfully obstructing the recruiting or enlistment service of the U. S. The basic "tenor" of our April issue is the need for peace and the desirability of ending the Korean war. . . . Peace is the concern of everybody, and everybody must be allowed to talk and write about it.

A TEST CASE: They warn that if suppression of their paper succeeds, then no opposition press in the country is safe. Unless the Postmaster General reverses his Solicitor's action, they plan to take the case to court. For this they ask help and support:

> To pursue this legal action will require money which frankly we do not have.

Protests can be sent to the Postmaster General, Washington, D. C.; contributions to **Vet's Voice,** P. O. Box 282, Forest Hills, N. Y.

NAACP fights on many fronts in '10-year plan' to end jimcrow

THE Natl. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People, which at its 44th annual convention in St. Louis approved a "ten-year plan to complete emancipation" of U. S. Negroes (GUARDIAN, 7/6), reports these campaigns being conducted on immediate issues:

GUAM "RAPE" CASE: NAACP counsel will file a petition for rehearing of the case of S/Sgt. Robert W. Burns and Pvt. Herman Dennis, Negro Air Force servicemen sentenced to death by a Guam military court in 1948 for "rape-murder" of a white civilian worker. The U. S. Supreme Court has denied a new trial requested by attorneys on the ground that Burns and Dennis

> . . . were subjected to continuous questioning, were beaten and denied food [and, almost a month later] were returned to the military and held in custody 21 days more before being officially charged with "rape and murder."

CIVIL RIGHTS LAW UPHELD: U. S. Dist. Court for Eastern Penn. has ordered an Oxford movie theater manager to pay $500, and two policemen $50 each, to Luther Manning, Archibald Scales and Vernell Dieudonne, students at Lincoln (Negro) University, who in 1950 were arrested on the manager's order when they refused to sit in the jimcrow section. The court reaffirmed the young men's right to sit in any part of the theater open to the public. The university's NAACP chapter instituted the case.

ANTI-COVENANT FIGHT: The Supreme Court June 14 ruled that California courts were right in dismissing damage suits against Leola Jackson, white, who sold her house to Negroes despite a "Caucasian" sale restriction. The high court in 1948 held that the "voluntary" racist covenants were not illegal but that they could not be enforced in the courts. The NAACP Legal & Educational Defense Fund announces a continuing fight "until Negroes are entirely free to live wherever they have the money to buy or rent."

RIGHT TO SWIM: St. Louis Negroes who go for recreation to Swope Park cannot legally be barred from swimming in the municipally owned and operated pool there, the U. S. Court of Appeals for the 8th Circuit has ruled. This unanimous opinion affirmed a lower court's ruling to the same effect. Esther Williams, Lena R. Smith and Joseph Moore, St. Louis NAACP members brought the case against the city in 1950. They were upheld by the trial court. It was the city's appeal which the Appeals Court rejected.

SEPARATE-AND-UNEQUAL: The U. S. Supreme Court on June 8, unable to reach a decision in five cases involving public schools segregation, agreed to hear new arguments beginning Oct. 12. The basic question was the "separate-but-equal" doctrine the court laid down 57 years ago. The NAACP said it would carry on the fight with an "intensified campaign against jimcrow in education." The five cases, first argued last December, involved jimcrow schools in S. Carolina, Virginia, Kansas, Delaware and the District of Columbia.

While delaying a ruling on schools, the court did decree that Washington restaurants must serve "well-behaved" Negroes at regular prices, in accordance with one of several 80-year-old "lost civil rights laws," passed in 1872-73 by the District Legislative Assembly but long ignored. Lower courts had ruled, when the case originated in 1950, (1) that the law had been illegally enacted; (2) that it had been repealed by later legislative action; (3) that it was unenforceable because of long disuse. The "lost laws" were rediscovered in 1947 by the late Charles H. Houston, NAACP legal committee chairman.

Convention resolutions

The NAACP convention also:

- Condemned "the tactics of Sen. McCarthy and others who attempt to deprive any person of his rights, liberty and freedom of thought."
- Rejected "communism [as] an anti-democratic way of life," warned local and state NAACP units not to cooperate with "communist-controlled unions, including the Natl. Negro Labor Council." [The NNLC is not a union but a group of trade unionists, ministers and local leaders of Urban League and NAACP branches organized to get Negroes jobs in all enterprises.]
- Called on President Eisenhower "to restrict the loyalty and security program to security-sensitive depts."
- Appealed to the American Fedn. of Labor's "new leadership" to "end the various forms of racial discrimination practiced by certain affiliated international unions" and condemned "the continuation of these vicious practices by the Railway Brotherhoods."

How to deal with Christians: a letter from Pliny to the Emperor Trojan, about 112 A. D.

(Reprinted from the parish bulletin of Holy Trinity Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.)

IT IS my custom, Sire, to refer to you in all cases where I do not feel sure, for who can better direct my doubts or inform my ignorance? I have never been present at any legal examination of the Christians, and I do not know, therefore, what are the usual penalties passed upon them, or the limits of those penalties, or how searching an enquiry should be made I have hesitated a great deal in considering whether any distinction should be drawn according to the ages of the accused; whether the weak should be punished as severely as the more robust; whether if they renounce their faith they should be pardoned, or whether the man who has once been a Christian should gain nothing by recanting; whether the name itself, even though otherwise innocent of crime, should be punished, or only the crimes that gather round it.

In the meantime, this is the plan which I have adopted in the case of those Christians who have been brought before me. I ask them whether they are Christians; if they say yes, then I repeat the question a second time and a third time, warning them of the penalties it entails, and if they still persist, I order them to be taken away to prison. For I do not doubt, that whatever the character of the crime may be which they confess, their

pertinacity and inflexibile obstinacy certainly ought to be punished. . . .

THOSE who denied that they were or had been Christians and called upon the gods in the usual formula, reciting the words after me; those who offered incense and wine before your image, which I had given orders to be brought forward for this purpose, together with the statues of the deities—all such I considered should be discharged, especially as they cursed the name of Christ, which, it is said, those who are really Christians cannot be induced to do.

Others, whose names were given me by an informer, first said that they were Christians and afterwards denied it, declaring that they had been but were so no longer, some of them having recanted many years before, and more than one so long as twenty years back. They all worshipped your image and the statues of the deities, and cursed the name of Christ. But they declared that the sum of their guilt or their error only amounted to this, that on a stated day they had been accustomed to meet before daybreak and to recite a hymn among themselves to Christ, as though he were a god, and that so far from binding themselves by oath to commit any crime, their oath was to abstain from theft, robbery, adultery, and from breach of faith, and not to deny trust-money placed in their keeping when called upon to deliver it. . . .

I THOUGHT it the more necessary, therefore, to find out what truth there was in these statements by submitting two women, who were called deaconesses, to the torture; but I found nothing but a debased superstition carried to great lengths. So I postponed my examination, and immediately consulted you.

The matter seems to me worthy of your consideration, especially as there are so many people involved in the danger. Many persons of all ages and of both sexes alike are being brought into peril of their lives by their accusers, and the process will go on. For the contagion of this superstition has spread not only through the free cities, but into the villages and the rural districts, and yet it seems to me that it can be checked and set right.

It is beyond doubt that the temples, which have been almost deserted, are beginning again to be thronged with worshippers, that the sacred rites which have for a long time been allowed to lapse are now being renewed, and that the food for the sacrificial victims is once more finding a sale, whereas, up to recently, a buyer was hardly to be found. From this it is easy to infer what vast numbers of people might be reclaimed if only they were given an opportunity of repentance.

Reply of the Emperor Trajan

You have adopted the proper course, my dear Pliny, in examining into the cases of those who have been denounced to you as Christians, for no hard and fast rule can be laid down to meet a question of such wide extent. The Christians are not to be hunted out; if they are brought before you and the offense is proved, they are to be punished, but with this reservation—that if any one denies that he is a Christian and makes it clear that he is not, by offering prayers to our deities, then he is to be pardoned because of his recantation, however suspicious his past conduct may have been. . . .

(Source of text: Letters of the Younger Pliny, by J. B. Firth.)

U.S. book purge gains pace; German 'deadly parallel' seen

Who kills a man kills a reasonable creature, God's image; but he who destroys a good book kills reason itself, kills the image of God. . . .
—John Milton, "Areopagitica."

By Eugene Gordon

IN 1933 the Nazis in Berlin made bonfires of books which "debased the soul of the German people." A few years later they were burning Germans and others said to have been influenced by the books.

The N.Y. **Times** on June 22, 1953—describing the U.S. government's worldwide purge of its overseas libraries—reported that books had been

> . . . removed from the reach of the public and stored, crated or otherwise hidden away pending final word from Washington on their disposition.

In Tokyo they admittedly were "burned or scrapped for pulping." Destruction was rumored but unconfirmed in Sydney and Singapore.

THE CONDEMNED: It was calculated by **AP** (6/23) that Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R-Wis.) had condemned for overseas libraries some 30,000 books—including all works, regardless of title, by 16 authors "'named specifically in one of the confidential State Dept. directives" (**NYT**, 6/22). The authors were mostly recognized as left-wing, but not all: one, mathematics Professor Julius Hlavaty, was the author of a single book—on solid geometry.

When McCarthy questioned Dr. James B. Conant, U.S. High Commissioner to Germany and ex-president of Harvard, and Conant said he was "not in favor of having books by Communist authors on the shelves," McCarthy asked what Conant would do with the books if he opposed burning them. This followed:

> CONANT: I think I would be able to make a deal by which I could get rid of them as secondhand books for one purpose or another.
>
> McCARTHY: In other words, you are trying to sell those 30,000 books so that the people in the U.S. could read them.

Although he made it plain that he would keep 30,000 books from general circulation, McCarthy denies that he is a censor. Explaining why he refused to fire his committee's new exec. director, J. B. Matthews, for a magazine attack on Protestant clergymen, McCarthy said (**NYT**, 7/8):

> "As a free-lance writer he wrote many articles. I have not read them and don't intend to. I do not set myself up as a censor."

AFTER BOOKS, PEOPLE: The anti-burners by last week had begun to hit front pages with effective protest. Rev. Dr. Albert P. Shirkey of Washington's Mt. Vernon Methodist Church warned Sunday in a sermon that a government which burns books is "not far from burning of persons, persons who might have in their minds the ideas that are in the books." The conservative **Jewish Examiner** said that if the banning continued it would include authors who "at some time or other received unfavorable attention in testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee." Describing most as "anti-Communists," the weekly listed these as possible future targets:

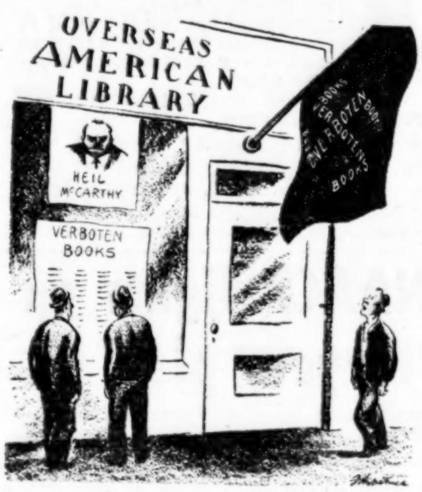
> James Truslow Adams, Sherwood Anderson, Roger Baldwin, Charles Beard, Van Wyck Brooks, John Dewey, Stuart Chase, Clarence Darrow, Eugene Debs, John Dos Passos, Theodore Dreiser, Albert Einstein, Clifton Fadiman, Roy Harris, Ernest Hemingway, Sidney Hook, Max Lerner, Archibald MacLeish, Thomas Mann, Norman Mailer, Robert and Helen Lynd, Dorothy Parker, Richard Wright, Reinhold Niebuhr, Frank Lloyd Wright, Harold Ickes.

GREAT SILENCE: Manfred George, editor of the N.Y. German language weekly **Aufbau**, wrote in the **Nation**:

> The consequences are history. The [German] book burnings were followed by the book bans and by the decrees stipulating, in effect, that only those writers who accepted the theories of National Socialism could make a living. State-supervised organizations such as the Reich Chamber of Culture sprang up, with compulsory membership for all writers and publishers, book dealers, librarians, and any persons connected with literary endeavors. Then the great silence fell over Germany.

The McCarthy dragnet has already spread far to the right, drawing in Walter White, NAACP exec. secy.; Walter Duranty, once N.Y. **Times** Moscow correspondent; Clarence Streit, author of **Union Now**; Bert Andrews, N.Y. **Herald Tribune** Washington correspondent and author of **Washington Witch Hunt**.

FREE TO READ: The angriest and best-reasoned counter-attack so far has come from the 21,000-member American Library Assn., supported by the American Book Publishing Council. The association's 72d annual Conference on Intellectual Freedom, meeting at Los Angeles June 25, issued a manifesto 'On Freedom to Read," reaffirming its conviction that "the ordinary citizen, by exercising his critical judgment, will accept the good and reject the bad." It was endorsed by about 30 prominent literary and educational figures, headed by Library of Congress director Dr. Luther H. Evans. It asserted the author's right to state diverse opinions—within limitations of decency laws—and the publishers' obligation to issue the books. The Assn. threatened "to end its participation in the foreign program if full literary freedom" were not restored in overseas libraries.



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Educating the New Germany in our free way of life.

Listing of Walter White's **The Rising Wind** stirred the Baltimore **Afro-American** to note that "the people of Asia and Africa are not forced to rely on American reports of racial conflicts here," for "the Russians are only too glad" to tell the world.

CONFUSION PLUS: The State Dept. announced last Wednesday it had ordered replaced "some of the books removed under the ban of Communist, pro-Communist or 'controversial' authors" (**NYT**, 7/6); the action was taken

> . . . in anticipation of a new policy directive that, according to its drafters, should end the "confusion" over books and authors that can or cannot appear in U.S. libraries overseas. [The State Dept.] continued its refusal to make public either the titles on the new "master lists" . . . or the books that, by their absence from the lists may again be put on the shelves.

When Clarence Streit protested to Secy. of State Dulles, Dulles' personal letter of apology added to the confusion. Dulles said "'no books from the overseas libraries were ordered removed except those by 16 authors who were either known Communists or about whom there was grave public doubt." But reporters had been told on June 25 by Richard A. Humphrey, asst. administrator of overseas libraries, that "Congress specifically proscribed any bood advocating world government" (Streit's subject).

SHORT ROAD: "The way that leads from burning books to burning people is often only a short road," warned the **Jewish Examiner.** The Alsop brothers (6/15), referring to a "passionate protest" cabled to the State Dept. by Ellis O. Briggs, U.S. Ambassador to S. Korea, predicted it would "no doubt gather dust in the State Dept.'s classified files." The Alsops commented:

> . . . It is time for other Americans, who also cherish the American traditions and who can speak out more freely, to get at least a little angry and to make their voices heard. For the standard of judgment employed by the State Dept.'s book burning is clear. No publication containing views or facts which might conceivably irritate Sen. McCarthy or his admirers is to be permitted abroad under any circumstances.

IKE'S "CLARIFICATION": Many have praised President Eisenhower's anti-book-burning remarks at Dartmouth College June 14; later, he said he didn't mind if the State Dept. burned "communist" books. That was after McCarthy clowned: "He couldn't have been referring to me. I haven't burned any books."

This was the real story of Eisenhower's Dartmouth remarks, according to the Alsops (7/1):

> There was no intention to take any sort of stand on any serious problem at the Dartmouth commencement. . . . The whole thing happened on the platform while the graduating class was filing in. . . .

The President's platform companions, including Canada's Foreign Minister Lester Pearson, were discussing "book-burning" in the overseas libraries. The significance of what they said gradually seeped into Eisenhower's consciousness, and hence his extemporaneous words. Later, after his open approval of burning "communist" books, McCarthy said Eisenhower had made "a very commendable clarification." But 7,000 educators at the 91st annual convention of the Natl. Education Assn. at Miami condemned all book burnings.

"Giant in Chains"

The new book by Barrows Dunham (author of the popular **Man Against Myth**) which the GUARDIAN reviewed last week is a selection of the Liberty Book Club at the regular club price of $1.89 including postage. You can get **Giant in Chains** and other outstanding books selected for progressive readers, published at $3.75 and more, at this special price by purchasing through the Club (1123 Broadway, N.Y.C.)

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.

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CALENDAR

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Los Angeles

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LEST WE FORGET—Vets Abraham Lincoln Brigade invite you to commemorate 17th anniversary. No U.S. aid to Franco. Fight Justice Dept. attack on Vets. No War Bases in Spain. Hear Rube Borough and others. Channing Hall, 2936 W. 8th St. Fri., July 17, 8:30 p.m.

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SERVICE, QUALITY, VALUE — see Guardian Buying Service, p. 8.

New peace plea by Weir ignored by U.S. press

A call to "do our part to negotiate with Russia" came last month from Ernest T. Weir, bitterly anti-union board chairman of the $400,000,000 Natl. Steel Corp., in a pamphlet Notes on the Foreign Situation *published on his return from a fifth European trip since the war (free from 2800 Grant Bldg., Pittsburgh 19, Pa.) Blasting U.S. criticism of W. Europe's desire to settle tensions, Weir points out that Europeans have suffered two devastating wars while the U.S. "knew nothing of it at first hand," and says Europeans associate the war danger with McCarthy and other "extreme elements." Excerpts follow from the pamphlet, which was almost ignored by the big press (the N.Y.* World-Telegram *gave it 5 inches on its business page June 29, yanked it after one edition.)*

THE European attitude . . . may be stated in three sentences:

1. They feel that European nations cannot continue to spend the large amounts presently devoted to defense because they have neither the money nor the credit.

2. They do not think there is any imminent danger of war.

3. They believe the time is ripe for a positive approach to peace.

ERNEST T. WEIR
The world demands peace

. . . Europeans . . . reason that the same forces are at work in Russia and the satellite countries as in the Western nations. Their people, too, know the destruction and suffering of war [and] that a third war would be far more terrible. . . . To assume that these people would willingly undergo such an ordeal is to declare them inhuman. And to assume that Russian leaders would attempt to take the unwilling citizenry of their own and other countries into a war of such magnitude is to ascribe to these leaders a degree of stupidity that they have not yet shown.

CRY FOR COMPROMISE: . . . I am more convinced than ever that the desire for peace is one thing all the peoples of the world hold in common. . . . I believe this desire is building into demands by all peoples that the leaders of their governments develop the methods to bring peace—demands too strong for the leaders to ignore. . . .

[The world has arrived at a time of critical decision, with one way leading to eventual peace, the other to eventual war, and] Europeans are in the mood for compromise. They do not expect to come out with a negotiated peace that contains everything that they and we want. They know there will be things about it they and we will not like. But they realize that by its very nature any negotiation must be a process of give and take. . . . They are convinced that we have at hand the opportunity to relieve the present tension and remove the threat of future war. . . .

"NEGATIVE THINKING": I am extremely in sympathy with this prevailing thinking in Europe. If the situation becomes generally understood I believe the overwhelming majority of Americans will be in sympathy with it also. . . . What can we lose by investigating the means to a possible peace?

[Some in the U.S. say] Russia can never be trusted, that she is likely to out-smart us in any negotiations, and that, in any event, an agreement acceptable to Russia could not be acceptable to us—therefore, we do nothing. This is negative thinking. It offers nothing constructive. Its implication is that the U.S. and the countries of Europe must go on year after year spending huge sums of money [for] military purposes. . . .

That presents a grim prospect which is all the more grim because it inevitably would lead to world war. When nations continue to enlarge their military machines, there is ever-present danger that the machines will be used. Of this I am sure. If such thinking should become the basis for our national course of action, the U.S. will become a leader without followers. . . .

"ALL IN MY POWER": Suppose we just continue the way we are going? . . . From a material standpoint alone, the prospect is appalling. . . .

In summary, the following are conclusions I have arrived at on the basis of my contacts in Europe and my thinking on this matter following my return:

1. **We cannot "go it alone."**

Our strength is not sufficient to the task. Any attempt to do so would confuse and divide the Western world. It would force some nations to orient themselves to the Communist world . . . it would create a world situation which would lead eventually to a world war. . . .

2. **We must treat our allies as partners.**

. . . But even if we have power to force acceptance of our will—which I doubt—we should remember that not much can be expected of unwilling partners. . . .

3. **We should do our part to negotiate with Russia.**

This is what the European countries want to do and want us to do. We should make no advance commitments of our own nor seek to exact advance commitments from Russia. We should enter the meeting with open minds, in a spirit of give and take, prepared to negotiate a peace on a fair and honorable basis. . . .

Peace is the great fundamental issue. Now and in the immediate future we may have the opportunity to obtain it which, if not taken, may slip through our fingers. I believe we should actively seek peace. Certainly, I intend to do everything in my power to that end.

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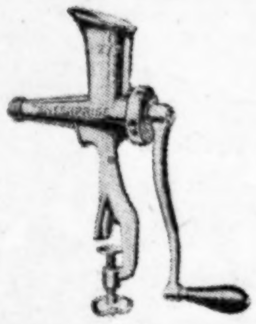

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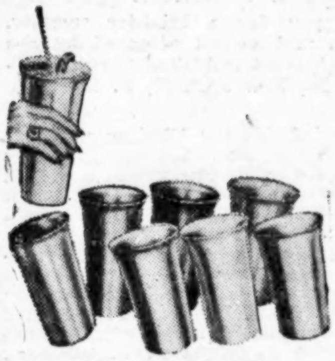

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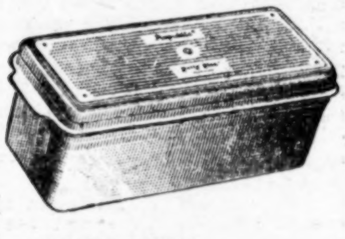

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